

THE
TWENTY-FIRST
ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN SOCIETY

FOR

Colonizing the Free People of Color

OF

THE UNITED STATES,

WITH THE

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING,

DECEMBER 13, 1837.

WASHINGTON:

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1838.

REPORT.

THE Managers of the American Colonization Society, in submitting to the general meeting their Annual Report, devoutly acknowledge the continued smiles of Providence on its interests. With numerous other associations that derive their entire strength from individual contributions, this Society has experienced, in some degree, the effects of a general derangement in the financial affairs of the country, and has deemed it prudent rather to improve existing advantages and cultivate the field already occupied than to extend very materially the sphere of its operations.

The office of President of this Society, vacated by the decease of the illustrious JAMES MADISON, has been filled by the unanimous election of the Hon. HENRY CLAY. In signifying his acceptance of the office, this distinguished friend of the Society observes, "Regarding the American Colonization Society as the only practical scheme ever presented to public consideration, for separating, advantageously to all parties, the European descendants upon this continent from the free people of color, the descendants of Africans, with their own consent; and of ultimately effecting a more extensive separation of the two races, with the consent of the States and individuals interested, I shall continue to cherish the highest interest in the success of the Society, and will contribute whatever is in my power to promote its prosperity."

The Managers stated in their last Report, that the Brig Ron-dout had been chartered by the Society to convey a select company of emigrants from Wilmington, North Carolina, to Liberia. Unfortunately this vessel did not afford the accommodations expected; and Lewis Sheridan (a free man of color of great respectability) and an interesting company of his relatives and friends, who had made arrangements to embark in her, postponed their

departure to a more favorable opportunity. The Rondout sailed on the 30th of December, with thirty-four emigrants, among whom were Wm. Taylor, a young colored physician, educated for the medical profession under the direction of the Board, and eighteen slaves liberated by Dr. Shuman of Stokes county, North Carolina, for whose comfortable settlement in the Colony he made liberal provision. Dr. David Francis Bacon, whose appointment as principal Colonial Physician was mentioned in the last Report, also took passage in this vessel.

Repeated and earnest efforts were subsequently made to secure a passage for those who had been disappointed by the Rondout, in other vessels to the Colony, but without success; and the Managers, unprepared in the reduced state of their resources to charter a vessel exclusively for them, finally assented to a proposition from the Pennsylvania Colonization Society to convey them to the settlement at Bassa Cove.

The Rondout anchored in the harbour of Monrovia on the 3d of February, having completed her voyage in thirty-four days. Most of her emigrants were placed in comfortable dwellings at Millsburg, and warned (but we regret to say with too little effect,) against imprudent exposures to the noonday sun and night air, the causes of dangerous disease to those unaccustomed to them in the African climate. Several of this company appeared utterly to disregard the advice of the Physician and all the lessons of experience, and paid the forfeit of their rashness with their lives.

On several former occasions the Managers have announced their purpose of sending out but few emigrants, and those under special circumstances only, until the Society should have become relieved from its pecuniary embarrassments, and further progress been made in the general system of improvement at Liberia. This policy has been approved by the Society, and, though it has encountered objections, is believed to be also approved by a very large proportion of the intelligent and considerate friends of the cause throughout the country. Whenever (as it has several times occurred) emigrants have been offered, and their expenses defrayed from other sources than the treasury of the Society, the Managers have promptly aided and enabled them to fulfil their desire of obtaining a home in Liberia. Two very interesting cases of this description have occurred since the last annual meeting,

Mrs. Rebecca Smith, widow of the late John Smith, of Sussex county, in Virginia, having died; his administrator transmitted to the Society's office a copy of his will. By this document it appeared that he had bequeathed to his wife all his slaves during her life; and directed that after her death, they and their increase should be emancipated and sent to Liberia, giving to each of them a supply of clothing and one year's provision, exclusive of provision for their maintenance during the voyage. The Testator farther directed that the expenses of removing and settling them should be defrayed out of his estate. These emigrants are fifty-nine in number.

In July, 1833, the Rev. John Stockdell, of Madison County, Virginia, died, having by will emancipated his slaves, thirty-one in number, for colonization in Liberia, and provided means for their transfer and settlement. The title of these slaves to their freedom being, however, denied by some of Mr. Stockdell's heirs, they found it necessary to assert it in a court of justice; and after considerable litigation, the contest was ultimately decided in their favor.

A recent correspondence with Mr. Thomas Potts, administrator of Mr. Smith, and with Colonel James W. Walker, executor of the Rev. Mr. Stockdell, resulted in an agreement on the part of the Managers to remove to Liberia, and there locate the above mentioned manumitted slaves. Means were furnished to them by Mr. Potts for defraying the expenses of removing Mr. Smith's and supporting them for one year after their arrival; and by Colonel Walker for defraying the expenses of removing and supporting, for six months after arrival, those of the Rev. Mr. Stockdell. The ship Emperor, Captain Keeler, has been employed by the Managers to convey these emigrants, with their supplies, (which have been purchased in ample quantities for their support during the periods indicated by their former owners respectively) to Liberia, and with a few other emigrants, most of whom are connected with these by marriage; this vessel has just sailed from Norfolk for the Colony. This vessel also conveys to Africa Dr. Ezekiel Skinner, late Governor of Liberia, who now returns thither in his former capacity of Colonial Physician. The Managers congratulate the Society on having obtained for these emigrants on their voyage and for the critical period immediately following

their debarkation, the advantage of this experienced and attentive physician's superintendence and aid. The return of this devoted friend of Africa, to the scene of his former labors, trials, and sufferings, will, it is confidently expected, be productive of great benefit to the Colony. Miss Mary Skinner, daughter of Dr. Skinner, accompanies her father, to assist him in his benevolent labors, and especially to take and preserve drawings of the plants and other interesting objects in the natural history of Africa. She was formerly a teacher in Liberia. There are several cases in which benevolent holders of slaves have manumitted them for removal to Liberia and have provided partial means for defraying the cost of their removal and settlement. The Managers would have been gratified could they, in accordance with the policy before referred to, have supplied, out of the Society's Treasury, the deficiency, and have sent these individuals with the emigrants manumitted by Mr. Smith and the Rev. Mr. Stockdell. This being impracticable, they will necessarily remain in the United States till the amount wanting shall have been made up out of the proceeds of their own labors, or by private liberality.

Of the general health of the Colony, the Board have received very favorable reports. On his arrival, Dr. Bacon, after careful inquiry, found but about twenty-five cases of disease in Monrovia, Caldwell, Millsbury, and other places in that region—only two of which he considered really dangerous. "Throughout," he remarks in his first letter to the Board, "the whole of my very brief experience here, I have found the few serious cases which have come under treatment, to improve more rapidly than my most sanguine hopes had anticipated; and I feel every way encouraged to renew and strengthen the high hopes of usefulness and success which excited me to an enterprise which my most rational friends were so ready to condemn as desperate."

The experience of another year has contributed to strengthen an opinion long since adopted by the Board, that the causes of disease in Liberia will lose much of their power as the country becomes subdued by the enterprise, and cultivated and adorned by the industry of civilized men.

It has been matter of regret to the Managers, that Captain E. A. Hitchcock, whose unanimous election as Governor of Liberia was announced in the last Report, and from whose character

and energy great advantages were anticipated, felt himself compelled to decline the appointment. It is gratifying to know, however, that the Lieut. Governor, Mr. Anthony D. Williams, has administered the affairs of the Colonial Government in a manner honorable to himself, and very conducive to the good order and general prosperity of the Colony.

In regard to the several African settlements under the general superintendence of this Society, the Board can report only gradual, but important improvements, in agriculture, education, and other interests essential to their growth, happiness, and stability. Respectable officers of the United States Navy, recently from Liberia, concur with the officers and citizens of the Colony in testifying to the general comfort and contentment of these communities—to the public spirit that animates them—and, especially, to their increasing endeavors to secure prosperity and independence by the cultivation of the soil. In their former Reports, the Managers have found cause to express regret at the too common neglect of this pursuit. They believe that it is now regarded by all industrious and intelligent settlers, as of vital importance. A scarcity of provisions among nearly all the tribes bordering on the Colony, produced by war and the slave trade, has proved the precarious nature of supplies to be derived from the natives, and shown that the colonists, to enjoy either independence, or a comfortable subsistence, must become agriculturalists. Great advantages have been experienced, and more are expected, from a public farm, recently put under cultivation on Bushrod Island, and designed, especially, to give employment to the poor, and aid in their support. This farm will also afford specimens of the best modes of tropical agriculture. The land is of superior fertility, and its situation so near Monrovia, as to admit of easy communication to market; and yet so separated from it, as to prevent any undesirable intercourse between its occupants and the citizens of that place. Twenty acres were under successful cultivation on the first of June—six acres of which were planted with the sugar-cane. The plan of compelling paupers, when in health, to contribute by their labor to their support, has already greatly reduced their number. The whole number on this farm by the last advices was fourteen. It is designed to employ the women in the manufacture of cotton cloths, and in other occupations suited to

their health and ability. A public farm has also been opened at the Junk settlement, on which individuals are permitted to labor in return for articles received by them from the Public Store. Thus far it has succeeded well.

An Agricultural Association has been formed in the Colony, to encourage the cultivation of the sugar-cane, and the manufacture of sugar; and a few shares of the stock have been taken by the acting Governor in behalf of the Society. "It is truly gratifying," he remarks, "to witness the zeal with which all classes of people are now turning their attention to the subject of farming. It is now with difficulty that a mechanic can be persuaded to work at his trade, even at an advanced price."

The United States ship of war Potomac visited the settlements of Liberia on her return from the Mediterranean, in November and December of last year. The Rev. Mr. Rockwell, Chaplain of this vessel, neglected no means in his power of ascertaining the condition and prospects of the people of Liberia. On his arrival in the United States, he stated publicly, "That Monrovia had suffered somewhat from embarking too largely in trade; but that the other seven settlements were in a highly flourishing condition—that the colonists were industrious—their farms well cultivated—their children at school—their property increasing." He had asked numbers of them whether they would be willing to return to the United States, and had, in every instance, been answered no.

The commander of this ship, Capt. Nicholson, in concluding his report of this visit to the Secretary of the Navy, observes—"I would further say that the colonies have now taken firm root in the soil of Africa, and though they may be depressed at times by adversity, yet by the gradual development of their resources, and the judicious assistance of their friends, they must finally flourish to be an asylum to the colored man, and an honor to their founders."

And here the Managers are happy to introduce the opinions of the citizens of Monrovia, as deliberately expressed in the form of resolutions at a public meeting on the 29th of September, 1836, convened for the purpose of making known to the world their views of African Colonization. This most interesting meeting was addressed by several citizens of the Colony, under deep

sense of obligation to this Society, and with an enthusiasm and eloquence worthy of the cause they had assembled to promote. Said one—"I arrived in Africa on the 24th of May, 1823; at that time the Colony was involved in a savage war; immediately I had to shoulder my musket, and do military duty. The circumstances of the Colony were trying in the extreme; but never have I seen the moment when I regretted coming to the Colony. My object in coming was liberty, and under the firm conviction that Africa is the only place, under existing circumstances, where the man of color can enjoy the inestimable blessings of liberty and equality, I feel grateful beyond expression to the American Colonization Society, for preparing this peaceful asylum." Said another—"I thank God that he ever put it into the hearts of the Colonization Society to seek out this free soil on which I have been so honored to set my feet. I and my family were born in Charleston, South Carolina, under the appellation of free people; but freedom I never knew, until by the benevolence of the Colonization Society, we were conveyed to the shores of Africa. My language is too poor to express the gratitude I entertain for the Colonization Society." Said a third—"I came to Liberia in 1832; my place of residence was the City of Washington, D. C., where I passed for a freeman. But I can now say, I was never free until I landed on the shores of Africa. I further state that Africa, so far as I am acquainted with the world, is the only place where the people of color can enjoy true and rational liberty. I feel grateful to the Colonization Society for what they have done and are doing for the man of color." Said a fourth—"I beg leave to state, that my situation is greatly altered, for the better, by coming to Africa. My political knowledge is far superior to what it would have been, had I remained in America a thousand years. I therefore seize this chance, to present my thanks to the American Colonization Society, for enabling me to come to this Colony, which they have so benevolently established." The following resolutions, among others, were then passed as expressive of the sense of the meeting:

On motion of Rev. J. REVEY,

"Resolved, That this meeting entertain the warmest gratitude for what the American Colonization Society has done for the people of color, and for us, particularly; and that we regard the scheme as entitled to the highest confidence of every man of color."

On motion of Mr. H. TEAGE,

"Resolved, That this meeting regard the Colonization Institution as one of the highest, holiest, and most benevolent enterprises of the present day. That as a plan for the melioration of the condition of the colored race, it takes the precedence of all that have been presented to the attention of the modern world: That in its operations it is peaceful and safe—in its tendencies beneficial and advantageous: That it is entitled to the highest veneration and unbounded confidence of every man of color: That what it has already accomplished demands our devout thanks and gratitude to those noble and disinterested philanthropists who compose it, as being, under God, the greatest earthly benefactors of a despised and oppressed portion of the human family."

"Whereas it has been widely and maliciously circulated in the United States of America, that the inhabitants of this Colony are unhappy in their situation, and anxious to return—

"On motion of Rev. B. R. WILSON,

"Resolved, That the report is false and malicious, and originated only in design to injure the Colony, by calling off the support and sympathy of its friends; that so far from a desire to return, we should regard such an event as the greatest calamity that could befall us."

At this meeting a resolution was adopted expressing gratitude to the benevolent ladies of the United States, particularly of New York, Philadelphia, and Richmond, for their efforts to promote education in the Colony, and testifying to the promising condition of the schools sustained by their contributions. These benevolent associations and the faithful exertions of missionaries residing in the Colony have excited among its inhabitants ardent desires for knowledge, and inclined many of the chiefs and tribes of the country to solicit instruction for their children. Of common schools, the number is nearly, if not quite, sufficient. The American Society for the promotion of education in Africa, has appointed a Board of Trustees and made an appeal to the public for aid in founding, at some eligible station in Liberia, a Seminary in which youth may acquire a knowledge of agriculture, the mechanic arts, geography, navigation, and such other branches of science as may best qualify them for usefulness as teachers, or for success in the business of life. The Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, while having under its care seven regular day schools, and others in the Colony, has established at Millsburg, on a spot of singular beauty, salubrity, and fertility, under the care of the Rev. B. R. Wilson, a Manual Labor School, denominated the White Plains' Manual Labor School, (in honor of the liberality of individuals in White Plains, New York, who have largely assisted to found it) at which from thirty to fifty orphan or destitute children, either from among the colonists or natives, may receive support and education. These children are to be

bound until they are twenty-one to the Superintendent of the Liberia Mission, who is pledged, as representative of the Missionary Society, to grant them ample means of living and of instruction in letters and the most useful arts. It is thought that the admission of children from the Colony and the bordering African tribes, to the same school, will tend to their mutual benefit by inclining the former to regard the latter with more kindness, and the latter more earnestly to seek, and with more facility to acquire, the language, the manners, the habits, and the character of a civilized people.

By the facilities and advantages afforded through the various settlements of free colored persons in Liberia, Christians of all sects and countries are invited, and may be enabled, to establish their divine religion among the populous, but barbarous and degraded tribes and nations of Africa. The iron gates of this vast continent, covered with the darkness of centuries, are thrown open, and the friends of Him, who left his gospel as a legacy to the human race, are summoned to enter with power to enlighten and bless, and add another continent to the empire of Christianity. The principal religious denominations in the United States have commenced their missionary operations in Western Africa with resolution and success. Through the benevolent enterprise of missionaries sent forth and sustained by the church missionary, and the Wesleyan Missionary Societies of England, hundreds, and we believe thousands, of native Africans on the Gambia, at Sierra Leone, at Cape Coast Castle, and at the Cape of Good Hope, have been rescued from the infamy of vice and the terrors of superstition, and made sharers in the liberty, the hope, and the peace of Christianity. From the mountains of Switzerland have apostolic men gone forth with the word of God, to Africa; and while the earliest words of good will to her children were on their lips, some have fallen in their great service of faith and love. Honored, but not solitary, they sleep on the heights of Monrovia. The missionaries of our own churches stood by them and fell with them in their holy work. And yet the hands of the diligent and the fearless—the voices of the devout and faithful—are seen and heard on that field of promise: the various denominations of American Christians are striving with noble emulation to occupy those stations among the heathen, to which they find ready access through the settlements of Liberia. To this Colony, every

friend of African missions should feel strong attachment. It is a spot reclaimed from the vast wilderness: it is an asylum in which the missionaries may enjoy protection and kindness during their exposure to the early trials of the climate, and to which they may retreat in days of sickness or misfortune: it is a citadel on the confines of barbarism, where those who contend for the Christian faith may find security from danger—repair their energies wasted by excessive toil—add vigor to their hope, and confidence to courage. Attempts to establish Christian Missions in Western Africa, independently of Colonization, would probably suffer a total defeat. From twenty-five to thirty missionaries—many of them white ordained ministers—are now engaged in their benevolent enterprise, within the limits, or in the immediate vicinity of, the Colony. Their schools adorn every settlement. They have kindled an intense desire of knowledge, both among the colonists and the native population. Their influence has extended far into the interior. They have acquired a knowledge of several native languages, and reduced some, hitherto spoken only, to a written form. They enter the native villages and preach to crowds, that eagerly gather around them, the words of everlasting life. Superstition retires before them, and her victims come forth from clay-built huts, from glens and forests wild, to hear from the ministers of Christ, those divine truths which turn from darkness to light and from the power of Satan unto God. Native teachers and missionaries will soon be qualified to establish and conduct Schools among their countrymen, and we may trust also to impart to them a knowledge of Christianity. A Missionary, says the Rev. Mr. Wilson of Cape Palmas, is much needed here, to itinerate among the settlements around us. He may, not going more than thirty miles from Cape Palmas, embrace within the sphere of his labors more than fifty thousand souls; and no people in the world, so far as human foresight may determine, are more ready to receive the gospel. The whole of Western Africa, so long exposed to all outrage and violence and crime, is now awaking to a sense of her wants and her miseries, and imploring of the Christian world that relief, which, in God's good Providence, she and she alone can bestow.

The horrors of the African Slave Trade still exist. This trade is the fruitful parent of savage wars, and of cruelties and sufferings surpassing the boundaries of the human imagination. The most

fierce and atrocious conflicts, instigated by slave traders, have prevailed, during the last two years, among the tribes in the vicinity of Monrovia. The crime of cannibalism, shocking, it might be supposed, even to barbarous natures, has been perpetrated during these wars. On the capture of a small town among the Gorahs by the Dey's, thirty victims were sacrificed to this detestable practice, "We have been informed," says the editor of the Liberia Herald, "that Pedro Blancho alone has exported from the Gallinas 1800 slaves during the last six months, and that he has recently received advices from the Havanna, of the safe arrival of one of his brigs, the cargo of which sold for \$250,000. There are two factories in the Gallinas, which are supposed to be about equal in exports. This gives them an export of 3600 slaves in six months, or 7200 in twelve, and that from a point at which it has generally been supposed the trade was nearly extinct." In January last, sixty-three slave vessels were reported as lying at one time at Loango waiting for cargoes. The British Commissioners stationed at Havanna, report that never since the establishment of their office, had the Slave Trade at that port reached such a disgraceful pitch as in the year 1835, and that not less than 15,000 negroes in fifty vessels must have arrived there during that year. There is reason to apprehend that African slaves will be illicitly introduced through the Havanna into Texas, and rumors exist that agents from that country, and even commercial houses in the United States, are disposed to enter into arrangements for the purpose. That vessels built and fitted out from American ports are engaged in this traffic, there can be no doubt. The civilized communities of Liberia have done much for its abolition in their vicinity, and are turning the attention of many chiefs of the country from this abominable trade, to humane and useful pursuits. The Managers trust that every friend of the colored race, and especially that the governments of Christendom will continue and increase their efforts for the suppression of this trade, constituting as it does infinitely the greatest obstacle in the way of the civilization of Africa.

The joint Societies of New York and Pennsylvania have continued resolutely and successfully to prosecute their enterprise: and the benevolent of these States have sustained them in a prompt and generous manner. In December last, the Managers of this Society, in the hope of finally disposing of some vexatious questions which had arisen in their relations to the Young Men's Col-

onization Society of Pennsylvania and the New York City Colonization Society, entered into an agreement with the Delegates of those Societies, by the terms of which the northern boundary line of their settlement or colony was to be so run as to include and bring under its government the settlement of Edina, provided the people of Edina should themselves give their consent to be transferred to, and pass under, the government and authority of that colony. The Managers are informed that this conditional agreement has been approved by the people of Edina; and they are gratified to learn that both this settlement and that at Bassa Cove enjoy a large share of prosperity. The office of Governor of the Bassa Cove colony, vacated by the return of Thomas H. Buchanan, Esq. (whose able administration of its affairs has been duly acknowledged) has been filled by the appointment of the Rev. John J. Matthias, lately of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia, who with his wife sailed several months ago for the African coast. These united Societies have just despatched an expedition with a very promising company of free persons of color from North Carolina, among whom are Lewis Sheridan and his relations, mentioned in the early part of this Report.

"Within the last two years," say the New York Managers in their last Report, "in addition to liberal contributions made by individuals and churches, there have been obtained almost exclusively in our own State, members, male and female, by the subscription of thirty dollars or upwards, one hundred and ninety; clergymen of different denominations, chiefly by the female members of their respective churches, either members for life by the subscription of thirty dollars, or managers by fifty dollars or upward, sixty-six; ladies and gentlemen, honorary managers, by a hundred, one hundred and fifty; two hundred, two hundred and fifty, or five hundred dollars, seventy-one; Patrons, by the subscription of a thousand dollars or upwards, nine."

The Managers of the Pennsylvania Society report about seven thousand dollars raised in six weeks, during a visit, at his own expense, of one of its members to the western part of the State; and mention other encouraging indications of public favor in their State towards the cause.

The State Society of Virginia has advanced with zeal and energy in this cause. To its interests, at all times, many of the enlightened, the wise, and the pious of that Commonwealth have

shown heartfelt regard. During the last winter the subject of extending efficient aid to the scheme of Colonization, by the modification of a former law appropriating, on certain conditions, \$18,000 a year for five years to the cause, was submitted to the General Assembly by the Managers of that Society, and the application was seconded by memorials, able and eloquent, from several parts of the State. It is intended to renew the application at the next session of the Legislature. The Managers of the Virginia Society and their very able Agent, the Rev. Charles W. Andrews, have adopted the best methods of bringing to the consideration of that body the united opinions of the friends of the plan throughout the State. At its last anniversary, that Society instructed its Managers to take proper measures for obtaining a suitable tract of territory on the coast of Africa, for the establishment of a new plantation, to be called New Virginia; and to be settled by free people of color, including manumitted slaves from that State, as soon as the necessary funds can be obtained for the purpose from the patriotic contributions of their fellow citizens and the generous aid of the Legislature of the Commonwealth. From this State rising of \$2,500 has been paid into the treasury of the Parent Society during the year.

In the month of January last, the Mississippi State Colonization Society resolved to proceed in their enterprise of founding on the coast of Africa, under the general control of the Parent Society, a colony to be styled Mississippi in Africa, and empowered the Rev. R. S. Finley to obtain donations and fit out an expedition to lay the foundations of this colony. A tract of land had been purchased, under the authority of this Society, by the late Governor of Liberia, Dr. Skinner, on the western bank and near the mouth of the Sinou river; and in the month of April last, the schooner Oriental, Capt. Richards, sailed with a company of emigrants from New Orleans, under the care of the Rev. J. F. C. Finley, as Governor, and Dr. J. L. Blodgett, Physician and Surgeon, to take possession of this territory. Of a purpose to despatch this expedition no information was given by the Mississippi Society to the Parent Society: and there is the more reason to regret this, as the emigrants were landed at Monrovia, where, had their arrival been expected, arrangements, better adapted to their circumstances, would have been, under the direction of the Board, made for their reception.

The State Colonization Society of Louisiana resolved, about the same time, to plant a similar colony in Africa; and each of these Societies determined, if practicable, to raise \$20,000 a year for five years, in order to execute efficiently their large designs of benevolence.

The last Report of the Managers of the Maryland Society gives an encouraging view of their colony at Cape Palmas. The population is about 300; and Missionaries from four different denominations are there established. Large acquisitions of territory have been made, and the State Society now owns both sides of the river Cavally from its mouth to the town of Dinah, about thirty miles from the ocean. Full provision has been made to secure the education of the colonists; agriculture is pursued as of vital importance; and a code of laws has recently been published by the Society well adapted to promote the ends of private right and public order and justice.

The Plan of Federal Government for the Colonies of Liberia, reported at the last annual meeting by the Committee on Auxiliary Relations, and adopted by the Society, has been submitted to the Societies of New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. The first two Societies have given it their sanction; the last has withheld its approbation, and published its reasons for non-concurrence. In connexion with these reasons, the Managers of the Maryland Society have presented an elaborate defence of the system of independent State action as best adapted to promote the scheme of African Colonization; and have attempted a reply to the opinions on this subject submitted by the Board of the Parent Society in their last Report. If entire confidence in the soundness of these opinions, was not felt by this Board at the time they were expressed, the argument of the Maryland Managers has contributed to dispel every doubt of their reasonableness and importance. Had the Maryland Society, sustained as it is by the munificent appropriations of the State Legislature, been satisfied to pursue its own plan of independent action, without endeavoring to weaken the energy and even to subvert the very existence of the National Society, no objection to its proceedings could be urged against it. But when, with extraordinary respect for its own peculiar policy, it pronounces the appropriate functions of this Society at an end, and declares the views of the friends of Colonization throughout the country to be so discordant as to forbid the idea of such an

unity of sentiment and action in any general Society as is necessary to entire success; the Managers must regard its opinions not as unfavorable merely to the Parent Institution, but as threatening to endanger the whole scheme of Colonization. By the experience of another year, their conviction is strengthened, that "whether we consider unity of opinion throughout the country on a subject in regard to which, of all others, differences are most fatal to success; or energy of action in a case where all present available power is inadequate to the work; or harmony in a complex system, where the irregularity of a part may retard the movement if not ruin the whole; or economy in an enterprise, to the greatness of which the pecuniary means already secured bear no comparison, and which, without vastly increased resources, can never be completed; or order, peace, common laws and uniform manners, in the colonies to be planted on a distant shore, the Managers are convinced that a Society, national in its character, conducting its operations through one central organization, has advantages over any other," and regarding as they ever have done the efforts of this and other Colonization Societies as preparatory to the greater movements of the State and Federal Governments, the question now submitted to the American people is whether a National Institution, adapted to unite the North, the South, the East, and the West, on common principles, in a cause, of interest no less to Patriotism than to Humanity, shall find effectual support; or, whether there be substituted therefor, numerous State Associations, united in no common sentiments, harmonizing in no measures, and bound together by no sacred ties of sympathy, affection, and respect. Shall the Parent Society be abandoned, or broken into fragments, when the cause is assaulted by the concentrated power of the Abolitionists on the one side, and very inadequately defended and sustained by its southern friends on the other?

The painful truth must be told. Causes have been for years, and still are, in operation to diminish the funds and weaken and retard the movements of this Society. It cannot proceed with energy without additional resources. Funds, which formerly came into its treasury, are now retained and expended by Auxiliary Associations. The Managers know that its difficulties have not arisen from imprudence. They can be relieved only by the increased zeal and efforts and contributions of its friends. To them the appeal is made; and if the scheme of this Society be of

vast magnitude and beneficence,—if it involve the dearest interests of two races of men, and of two continents,—if its very existence be menaced by conflicting elements, threatening equally the peace and union of the country; let all Patriots and all Christians not only give to it a prompt, a firm, and a generous support, but invoke for it, in a tone not to be denied, the aid of the several State Legislatures, and of the Congress of the United States.

In obedience to instructions from the Managers, the Secretary of the Society, during the spring and summer, visited several of the Southern States; and found it necessary, owing to the circumstances of his family, to spend more than three months in the State of Georgia. The report of his proceedings, has been already submitted to the public in the African Repository. In North Carolina, the friends of the Society expressed a determination to engage with new zeal and energy in the cause; and the public meetings held in Raleigh, Fayetteville, and Wilmington, were attended by the principal citizens, ready to give to the scheme both their approbation and contributions. But a few days were spent in South Carolina, yet inquiry led to the opinion, that even in that State a reaction has commenced in the public mind favorable to the Society. Hitherto the press in South Carolina has excluded every thing in favor of Colonization. The subject is not understood. Opinions are, however, changing in that State. The passions of men, so long inflamed and agitated by political controversies, are sinking to repose. There are in that State not a few enlightened and warm friends to the Society; and a discreet and able agent might, it is thought, do much to remove the existing ignorance and prejudice in regard to it, as well as secure to it additional friends and resources.

At Augusta, Washington, Lexington, and Athens, in Georgia, the only important points visited, gentlemen of high character were found prepared to sanction the views of the Society. The moral influence, in its favor of the late Judge Crawford, the first Vice-President of the Society, and whose memory is cherished with honour by the people of Georgia, is felt extensively in that State. The misrepresentations of enemies, and the excitement at the North on the abolition question, have produced to some extent, even in candid and benevolent minds, distrust of the views and tendencies of the Society, and inclined them to caution in regard to public meetings on the subject, yet the best informed, the most in-

telligent, and reflecting approve the design, and desire the prosperity of the Institution. Information concerning the Society is greatly needed in that community. Individuals in Georgia have already determined on the removal, ultimately, of their slaves, as freemen, to Liberia: and should that Colony continue to prosper, thousands will unquestionably, in every State of the South, be voluntarily liberated, and assisted to secure on its territory those blessings it is so well adapted to confer upon them, their posterity, and their race.

Since the last meeting of the Society, measures have been adopted to obtain such an act of incorporation as might effectively protect the rights of the Institution. The charter which it had received from the Legislature of Maryland in the year 1831, had been deemed by every successive Board a valid charter. But in many instances in which private interests were adverse to the rights of the Society acquired under the devises of benevolent individuals, professed doubts of its sufficiency were made the grounds of a threatened resistance to such devises: and sometimes, in the judgment of the Managers, a disadvantageous compromise was preferable to litigation. Desirous to prevent any pretext in future for such or any other doubts, they resolved on obtaining, if practicable, a new charter; and they naturally resorted to the Congress of the United States, as the local Legislature of the territory in which they resided. After some discussions in the Senate, to which body their memorial was first presented, it was laid on the table; and a subsequent motion to take it up was unsuccessful. As delay must inevitably attend any further efforts in that quarter, the Managers addressed their application to the Legislature of Maryland for such modifications of the charter obtained from it in 1831 as might meet all objections, or for a new act of incorporation. The latter was promptly granted by that enlightened assembly on the 22d of March last; and on the 13th of May, the Society, at a meeting held at Beltsville, in Prince George's County, Maryland, was organized; and signified by a written communication to the Governor and Council its acceptance of the charter. This charter, while it preserves to the Society all the rights which it may have obtained under the former act, is believed to be fully adequate for securing its future acquisitions.

For information in relation to the Finances of the Society, the Board refer to the Treasurer's statement of the receipts and dis-

bursements for the past year, which is annexed to this Report. From this account it appears that the total amount of receipts, is \$29,117.29, and of expenditures, \$27,966.87.

A deficiency in the receipts of the Society, during the general derangement in the pecuniary concerns of the country was to have been expected. Indeed, this deficiency would have been greater, but for the receipt of the proceeds of the sale of property bequeathed several years ago to the Society by W. H. Ireland of New Orleans, (but which, for prudential reasons, had not sooner been disposed of,) and also the amount of several other recent and liberal legacies of the Rev. Mr. Pomeroy, of Connecticut, and of Mr. Madison. The generous legacies left by the Rev. Mr. Stockdell and John Smith, Esq., for the benefit of slaves liberated by and with their own consent, colonized in Liberia, have been already mentioned.

It has been impossible for the officers of the Society, in the reduced state of its receipts, to meet in every instance the current demands upon it; but it appears from the Treasurer's account that nearly six thousand dollars of the former debt of the Society have been paid during the year: and the Managers have pleasure in stating, that of that debt, amounting to nearly fifty thousand dollars in January 1834, not more than four thousand dollars remain unpaid, except about \$20,000 in stock issued by the Society, payable in twelve annual instalments, and which it hopes to redeem without difficulty. Some other debts, it is true, have been since contracted at the Colony, and a few during the last year. But the Board trusts that when the present derangement in the currency of the country shall be removed, and the amounts due from certain Auxiliary Societies shall have been paid—and especially when the Agents of the Society shall find that success in their collections, which in former years has attended their efforts; these debts will soon be discharged.

DR.

J. GALES, *Treasurer, in Account with the American Colonization Society,*

CR.

1837. DECEMBER 12.

To Balance on hand, on settlement 12th Dec. 1836,
 To Cash received from the following sources, since the
 last annual meeting:

From the several Auxiliary Societies, - - -
 Donations, - - - -
 Collections in Churches, &c., - - - -
 Instalments on Gerrit Smith's Plan of Subscription,
 Life Members, - - - -
 Legacies, - - - -
 Sale of Society's Stock, - - - -
 Emigrants and their Friends, on account of their passage
 to and maintenance at Liberia, - - - -
 Interest on Brewster's Note, on account of his Uncle's
 Bequest to this Society, - - - -
 T. H. Fletcher, Nashville, for the use of Mr. Donelson's
 People in Liberia, to be accounted for to the Pennsyl-
 vania Auxiliary Society, - - - -
 From the Treasurer of the U. States, in payment of an
 account of the Lieut. Governor of Liberia, for main-
 taining the crew of the Schooner Caroline, wrecked
 on the African coast, - - - -
 From Subscribers to the African Repository, - - - -
 From do. to the Liberia Herald, - - - -
 On Loan from the Patriotic Bank, - - - -

\$2,749 15

3,469 17

864 75

2,861 52

2,300

130

9,196

200

5,940

33

293 50

172 20

98

10

800

\$29,117 29

\$1,150 42

1837. DECEMBER 12.

By Cash paid on the following accounts since the last
 annual meeting:

In payment on account of the old debt of the Society,
 For Supplies to the Colony of Liberia, and for the Sal-
 aries of Officers and Physicians there, - - -
 For the Passage and Maintenance of Emigrants to the
 Colony, and for Trade Goods and Provisions, - - -
 For Expenses of Travelling Agents, - - - -
 For Salaries of Officers at home, - - - -
 For Office Rent, Fuel, Postage, Stationery, and other
 contingencies, - - - -
 For redemption and interest on the Society's Stock,
 For Printing, - - - -
 For Interest, Discounts and loss on uncurrent Notes,
 For Services of J. A. Maybin, Esq. Counsellor at Law,
 in relation to the Bequest of W. H. Ireland, of New
 Orleans, - - - -
 For a return of Freight to Thomas C. Browne, - - -
 A. D. Williams, Lieut. Governor of Liberia, from a
 donation of Wm. Hutton, Agent of the Western Af-
 rican Company, - - - -
 For the African Repository, to J. C. Dunn, - - -
 Balance on hand (including a \$50 uncurrent Note,) - - -

\$5,909 96

8,468 28

5,583 21

740 60

2,967 72

497 50

2,770 71

195 56

288 83

335 50

51

30

98

1,150 42

\$29,117 29

To Balance on hand, - - - -

JAMES LAURIE,
M. ST. CLAIR CLARKE.

The undersigned, appointed to audit the Treasurer's accounts from 10th December, 1836, to the 12th December, 1837, have compared
 the entries with the vouchers, and find the record correctly kept.

DECEMBER 1837.

TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN COLO-
NIZATION SOCIETY.

The American Colonization Society held its twenty-first annual meeting at the Capitol, in the hall of the House of Representatives on Tuesday, December 12, 1837, at 7 o'clock, P. M.

The Hall of the House of Representatives was unusually crowded by spectators.

HENRY CLAY, of Kentucky, the President of the Society, took the chair, and the meeting was opened by prayer from the Rev. James Laurie, D. D. of the District of Columbia.

The President (Mr. CLAY) then addressed the Society.

Gentlemen of the American Colonization Society:

On the first occasion of meeting you since I received the appointment which I now hold, I am prompted by my grateful feelings to present cordial thanks and my respectful acknowledgments. To be called to that high station which has been successively occupied by a Carroll, by a Washington, the most distinguished and beloved of all who bore his honored name, and by a Madison, whose long life was one continued exhibition of public and private virtue, of patriotism, of intelligence, and of benevolence, was among the most gratifying public honors which I have ever received, and it will always remain one of the most cherished recollections of my life. But, gentlemen, considering the noble aims and humane purposes of this Society, there is an honor resulting from the office of presiding at its deliberations greater than any which can be communicated even by their illustrious names. It was established twenty years ago; and the peaceful acquisition of a large territory in Africa, eight flourishing settlements and towns, containing a population already civilized, or in the process of civilization, with schools of instruction as to our duties here below, and temples erected to the ever-living God, pointing to the hopes and blessings of Christianity above, attest the success of the labors of the Society, and encourage to further and invigorated exertions.

The Society was formed to demonstrate the practicability of colonization in Africa; and, if it were unhappily dissolved to-morrow, that great purpose of its founders will have been completely accomplished. No one can now doubt that, with the application of adequate means, such as the governments of the several States of the Union could supply, almost without an effort, the colonization of the descendants of the African race may be effected to any desirable extent. The founders of the Society never imagined that, depending as it does upon spontaneous contributions from the good and the benevolent, irregularly made, without an established revenue, and without power, the Society alone was competent to colonize all the free persons of color in the United States. They hoped, and the Society still hopes, that, seeing what has been done, and can be done, governments may think fit to take hold of the principle, and carry it out as far as they may deem right, with their ample powers and abundant resources.

The object of the Society was to colonize, with their own voluntary consent, the free persons of color in the United States. It had nothing coercive or compulsory about it. It neither had the disposition nor the power to apply force. Throughout its whole existence it has invariably adhered to that principle. It never sought to shake or affect in the slightest degree the tenure by which any

property is held. It believed that the States alone, in which the institution of slavery exists, had the exclusive right to decide upon its continuance or termination. It hoped to be able to do what it has done—to point out a mode by which any of them or any of their citizens might find a home and a refuge for liberated slaves. And, accordingly, many humane proprietors of slaves have embraced the opportunity thus offered.

It has been objected against the Society that its aim and tendency have been to perpetuate slavery, and to draw still tighter the bonds of the slave. It has, on the other hand, been proclaimed that its purpose is to abolish slavery forthwith, and to let loose the untutored and unprepared slaves upon society. Both objections cannot be founded in truth. Neither is. The Society does not meddle with slavery, either to prolong or to discontinue its existence. Its abstract opinion, or rather the abstract opinions of its members, is well known. They believe it a deplorable evil; but here it is to be touched, if touched at all, with the greatest caution and delicacy, and only with authorized hands. Both principle and policy restrain the Society from disturbing it—principle, because the Society believes it is a matter exclusively appertaining to the States and citizens immediately concerned; and policy, because to agitate the subject at all, would deprive the Society of the co-operation of a large portion of the Union, and prevent it from accomplishing an attainable good, by the pursuit of what it is constrained to think an impracticable and dangerous object.

But the Society attacks no person and no association. It neither assails those who believe slavery a blessing, nor those who believe it a great curse, and seek its immediate extirpation. It pursues the even tenor of its way, appealing to the understanding, to the humanity, and to the religion of an enlightened community. It had hoped to escape unmerited reproaches and unjustifiable attacks; but it has not, and it has only defended itself. Because it cannot agree or co-operate with the abolitionists, they assail it. Because it believes that the agitation of the question of abolition is unwise and unhappy, alike destructive to the harmony of the whites, and injurious to the cause of the blacks, which is espoused, the motives and purposes and tendency of colonization are all misrepresented and condemned. Why should this be? The roads of colonization and abolition lead in different directions, but they do not cross each other. We deal only with free persons of color; their efforts are directed towards the slave. We seek to better the condition of the free person of color; they the slave. Why should our humane design be impeded or derided or thwarted by those who profess to be in the prosecution of another but distinct design, which they profess to consider also humane? No, gentlemen, we are no ultraists. We neither seek to perpetuate nor to abolish slavery. Our object is totally different from either, and has been proclaimed and clung to from the beginning of the Society to this hour.

It has been contended that colonization is altogether incompetent to effect a separation of the two races of our population; that the evil of discordant and incongruous elements must continue, unless some more powerful agency is discovered; and that the American Colonization Society has been able to accomplish nothing deserving of any serious consideration.

Those who thus assail us, seek to try us by an imaginary standard of their own creation. They argue that the whole of the African portion of our population amounts to some two or three millions; that in a period of twenty years we have been able to colonize only a few thousand, and hence they infer that colonization cannot exercise any sensible influence upon the mass of the African element of the American population. Now, all that we ask is to be tried by the standard of our

own promises and pledges. Have we ever held out to the community that this Society, without power, without even an act of incorporation from the general government, without any regular revenue, could separate the two classes of the African portion of it? Have we not invariably disclaimed any purpose on our part to interfere, in any manner whatever, with the larger part of it—the slaves? Have we not, on the contrary, constantly avowed our intention to be to colonize only free persons of color, with their voluntary consent? We have thought, and we have said, that we believe that the *principle* of colonization was susceptible of being applied to the extent of a total separation of the two races. But we have not attempted it. We have left that to the care and the judgments of those who alone can rightfully and constitutionally decide the matter. We promised only to be the pioneer, and to show the practicability of the principle. And have we not, with the blessings of Providence, already successfully fulfilled every just expectation that we ever authorized?

Those who complain of the tardy operations of the Society should recollect that great national enterprises are not to be speedily executed, like those of individuals, in the short span of the life of one person. Many years, sometimes more than a century, may be necessary to their completion; and this is emphatically the case when we reflect upon the magnitude and the duration of the wrongs inflicted upon Africa. Near two centuries elapsed, during which her sons were constantly transported to the shores of the New World, doomed to a state of bondage. A period of similar extent may possibly be necessary to restore their descendants to the parent country, with all the blessings of law and liberty, religion and civilization. A sudden and instantaneous separation of the two races, if it were possible, would be good for neither, nor for either country. We should be greatly affected by an immediate abstraction to such a vast extent, from the labor and industry of our country: and Africa could not be prepared, morally or physically, to receive and sustain such a vast multitude of emigrants. For both parties, and for all interests, the process of separation, like the original unnatural union, had perhaps better be slow and gradual. And the consoling reflection may be entertained that, during every step in its progress, good will have been done.

The surprise should not be that so little has been effected, but that so much has been achieved by the Society, with such scanty and precarious means at its command. There stand the colonies, on the shores of Africa, planted under its auspices. With but little or no further aid from this country, they now possess inherently the power of sustaining themselves and protecting their existence. The practicability of colonization is forever demonstrated. Let us, then, persevere in the great and good cause; and let us hope that the same Providence which has hitherto smiled upon us, will continue to extend to our labors His countenance and blessings. I promise a zealous and hearty co-operation.

The Rev. R. R. GURLEY, Secretary of the Society, read the following list of Delegates in attendance from Auxiliary Societies:

From the *Connecticut Colonization Society*, Henry L. Ellsworth.

From the *New York City Colonization Society*, Rev. Alexander Proudfit, D. D. David M. Reese, M. D., Anson G. Phelps, Moses Allen.

From the *Pennsylvania Colonization Society*, Charles Naylor, M. C., Thomas Buchanan.

From the *Auxiliary Colonization Society of Washington County, Pennsylvania*, Thos. M. T. McKennan, M. C.

From the *Wheeling, Virginia, Colonization Society*, Joseph L. Fry, M. C.

From the *Trumbull County, Ohio, Colonization Society*, Elisha Whittlesey, M. C.

From the *Female and Male Colonization Societies of Greene County, Ohio*, Thomas Corwin, M. C., Patrick G. Goode, M. C., and Samson Mason, M. C.

From the *Clinton County Colonization Society, Ohio*, Thomas Corwin, M. C.

From the *Zanesville and Putnam Colonization Societies, Ohio*, William K. Bond, M. C., Alexander Harper, M. C.

From the *Indiana State Colonization Society*, Oliver H. Smith, M. C., George H. Dunn, M. C.

From the *Female Colonization Society, Georgetown, D. C.*, Rev. Henry Slicer, Rev. John C. Smith, Rev. Augustus Webster, Samuel M. McKenney, and Thos. Turner.

The SECRETARY read the Annual Report of the Board of Managers.

On motion of General MACOMB, the Report was accepted, and ordered to be printed.

The Rev. Dr. PROUDFIT then addressed the Society, and offered the following resolution; which was seconded by HENRY A. FOSTER, M. C., from New York, who also addressed the Society in support of the resolution:

Resolved, That, from the improvement already obvious among the colonists in Africa, we are encouraged to persevere in the scheme of Colonization, and have reason to hope that the former degradation of the colored race will shortly issue in a corresponding elevation, intellectual, moral and political.

The Reverend mover, in supporting the resolution, proceeded to observe that in the moral government of God, the day of prosperity and the day of adversity, were generally set the one over against the other. This held equally true of families, of communities, and of nations; and it afforded a corroborative proof of the existence of a superintending Providence that governs, in a wise and equitable manner, the destinies of the world. By contending with adversity the human mind was disciplined and chastened, and all its powers roused into action and strengthened by exertion. It was by the discipline of the pit and of the prison-house that Joseph had been prepared for the splendour of a royal court and for the weighty responsibility of the government of a great empire. So the offspring of Abraham, by their hard bondage, in brick and in mortar, had been fitted to enjoy the subsequent repose of Canaan. The same analogy of Providential dealing was conspicuous in the history of our own pilgrim fathers, who after an arduous and trying struggle against an oppressive government, had emerged from the calamities of a seven years' war to the possession of one of the fairest inheritances ever bestowed upon man. From these and similar examples, the Reverend speaker deduced a hope for the children of Africa, and augured the rising of that ill-fated continent out of all its woes to that place among the population of the globe for which it seemed to have been destined by the great Ruler of mankind. The rapidity with which the African people drank in knowledge as soon as it was brought within their reach, seemed to indicate that the ancient fire of African genius, which once burned so brightly, had not been extinguished, but was only hidden for a time by the hand of oppression. The proofs they had exhibited of mental energy and elevation afforded a cheering presage of the revival of former days, when other Tertullians and other Cyprians should thunder, and other Austins and other Scipios rise upon a future age and shed the radiance of immortality on a land now

sunk in darkness deeper than that of Egypt. Already had the wilderness begun to bud, and soon should the wide and cheerless desert of African ignorance and barbarism rejoice and blossom as the rose. Soon should the now oppressed and enslaved negro be seen walking erect in all the majesty of freedom, and where now nothing was heard but the clanking of the servile chain, songs of praise and of thanksgiving should rise from the sanctuaries of the living God, whose spires would be seen pointing to heaven from spots now polluted by the Dagon of idolatry. The rose of Sharon was already striking deep its roots in the African soil, and soon should it unfold its beauties and spread wide its perfume over wastes long abandoned to savage desolation. He said that this was not an exaggerated picture. Such a hope was supported by facts of the most important and encouraging character. He referred to the establishment of elementary schools, now in successful operation; to the contemplated founding of a seminary of higher grade, and the princely contributions which had been made to secure an object so important. He adverted to the rapid progress of the natives in acquiring our language, and in such of the arts and sciences as they had had an opportunity of studying; and in support of the favorable representations he had given of the moral and intellectual, as well as the physical condition of our colonies, he quoted the testimony of Captain Nicholson of the Navy, Mr. Seys and others, as also the resolutions adopted at a recent meeting of the colonists at Liberia. He then argued that the man who could shut his eyes to the blaze of evidence which was every day accumulating of the happy and improving condition of our colonies on the African coast, must do so willingly, from the dominion of an obstinate prejudice. Indeed, so abundant was the light of truth on this subject, that he might, without irreverence, apply to the case the words of the great Incarnate Truth himself: "If they hear not Moses and the Prophets, neither will they believe though one should rise from the dead."

All this amount of good had been effected by the Colonization Society, in a silent, unostentatious, pacific manner; interfering with no domestic relations, kindling up no insurrectionary spirit, exciting neither the jealousy of the master nor the resentment of the slave. The Society in its practical effect, operated as a safety valve to those dangerous elements which threatened so much danger to the social happiness of this country. If any man believed that God has made of one blood all the nations of men to dwell on the face of all the earth; if he contended that the colored man was possessed of every quality, mental and corporeal, which fitted the white man for the duties and enjoyments of life; if he held the institution of slavery to be immoral, anti-republican, and contrary to the first truth proclaimed in the Declaration of our National Independence, and under these impressions wished to liberate the slaves under his control, this Society afforded him the opportunity to do it without violating the laws of the State, or endangering the peace or safety of others. Thus far the Society had relied, for its resources, solely on individual munificence; but he now appealed to all who heard him, to say whether an enterprise so benevolent was not worthy of the national patronage? He presented the picture of a series of free and prosperous republics extended along the western shore of the African continent, and spoke with enthusiasm of the glory which would encircle the name of those who had been the founders and early patrons of such a series of States: declared for himself that he would prefer that honor to all the glories of the greatest monarchs and conquerors of the world: and concluded with an expression of his firm belief, that a design so worthy of the Philanthropist and the Christian, would be crowned with the blessing, not only of regenerated and disenthralled Africa, but of Heaven.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

The following are Mr. FOSTER's remarks:

MR. PRESIDENT: In rising to second the resolution offered by my venerable friend from New York, I feel that the able manner in which he has presented the subject, leaves but little for me to say. I cannot, however, refrain from adding my testimony in favor of what the friends of Colonization are effecting here, and in Africa.

In discussing this resolution, I need not stop to prove the present degradation of the African race, whether in his own native clime; or with the name of a free-man, in the United States; or as a slave under his task-master. It would be a useless attempt, to prove him, in either situation, (what we know him to be) degraded, far below the rank to which nature has entitled him; and difficult would it be, to tell whether the millions in Africa—besotted in ignorance, vice and superstition—or the slaves of this country, are most entitled to our commiseration.

I am not the apologist of slavery; I would not uphold those who introduced it here; but we find it interwoven with the institutions of several of the States; and the hand of violence cannot, and should not, be raised for its extirpation; and if such an effort could be successful, and all the slaves in this Union, could this moment be restored to freedom, their situation would be no better than it is now; they would still remain a servile and degraded people.

But I look to the operations of this Society to carry out the plan of raising the African race, if not here, at least in Africa, to that standing which Providence intended they should occupy.

Our venerable friend has pointed to what our Colonization Societies have already done for Africa—to those stars which have already shed their faint, but glorious beams, for three hundred miles along her coast—and to the peculiarly favorable circumstances of that country, for carrying forward the work of Colonization as fast as the benevolent in this country shall provide the means; and I believe that if I live to your age, I shall know that those stars have become suns, to radiate the beams of morality, science, and religion, to every quarter of that benighted continent.

To the Abolitionist, who presses the duty of immediate emancipation, and the arbitrary question of right, without reference to consequences, I might fail to impart my feelings, or my views; but a candid observer will readily see that it needs only the exertions of the friends of the black man to ensure success.

Sir, you have just told us that this Society has been in existence only twenty years; and yet how much has it accomplished! The friends of immediate emancipation, say it has accomplished nothing; and yet no kindred effort has ever done so much in twenty years, as has been performed by the charities of those who are the friends of the colored race; nor has so much been effected in colonizing any other distant land. Go back with me to the first settlement of this country, and look at the efforts which were made, the expenditures incurred, and the lives sacrificed, in the experiment of establishing settlements on our coast; and how small the number of colonists *here*, at the expiration of twenty years, compared with those sent by us, who are now in Africa! And yet in the *one* case, they were stimulated to action, some, by the selfish motives of avarice and ambition; and others, by a desire to flee from oppression; while in the *other*, the work has been left to philanthropy alone.

There is good reason why the undertaking should be successful. Those who have gone to colonize Africa, have found the soil and climate adapted to produce

spontaneously, many of the necessities and luxuries of life; and have, after a short residence there, been enabled to provide themselves with all things necessary for their comfortable subsistence. They have gone to their own country—to a climate peculiarly adapted to their race; and instead of having to contend with savages, and all the severities of a rigorous climate, as did our forefathers, they were welcomed by brethren of their own color who are endeavoring to learn from them some of the arts of civilized life, and who look up to them as friends and benefactors. Yes, Sir, more has been effected, and there are more colonists from this country now on the African coast, than there were on ours at the same time from the first settlement.

Why should we doubt that this work will be carried forward? I know, that if we withhold the means, nothing will be done; but from past experience, we have reason to believe, that the same hearts and hands which have helped thus far, will still go forward; that increased efforts will be made, and that the opposition to this noble cause will give way before the light of truth and reason. I know that this Society has been much misrepresented by men who profess to be the exclusive friends of the African race; but already has the voice of truth dispelled many of the aspersions which have been cast upon us, and our better knowledge of Africa and the colonies, shows that there are no physical difficulties in the way of success; and when we have the testimony of a NICHOLSON, like that which has just been presented to us, we have but little to fear from further misrepresentation.

Is it asked, how is this work to be carried forward? I answer, much, *very much*, has already been done. The chief difficulty is in planting the germe: when that is once done, the consequent course receives an accelerated impetus: like the snow-ball, small at first, and slowly increasing in size, though constantly doubling with each successive revolution, until it becomes an avalanche. Already have commercial dealings commenced between this country and the African colonies, and each successive year will add to the intercourse and knowledge of the respective countries; and the colored man of this country, will learn that the dangers of that climate, of which he now hears so much, are no worse than that of the Southern States of this Union; and that *there* he can be a freeman indeed; while *here*, if he remains, whether as a slave, or nominally free, he is degraded, and destined to be degraded. *Here*, he can never rise to the level of the white man, but must always remain his *ménial*. We may call it "prejudice;" be it so. And whether it be just, or unjust, it will never change until "the Ethiopian shall change his skin;" *there*, he may rise according to his merits, and he will know, and feel it; and instead of a few hundreds sent out at great expense, we shall see thousands and tens of thousands seeking the shores of their father-land as an asylum from oppression, as we now see the subjects of other governments flocking to this country.

Sir, look at the tide of emigration which is yearly rolling its fifty, sixty, and eighty thousands of foreigners upon our shores; and why may we not calculate, that within the present century, almost an equal number of our colored population will annually leave this country for the land of their ancestors? Those who seek a home here, are neither fleeing from slavery nor from that degradation of *cast*, to which the colored skin is subjected; nor can they expect to attain all our political rights, and be welcomed to a social equality with us, until after years of patient well doing; while the black man who returns to Africa, knows that he leaves all his shackles behind him, and stands forth at once, not only a freeman, but is looked up to by his native brother as his superior and benefactor, and is stimulated to virtuous action by all the incentives which, with us, operate upon the white man.

Before the close of this century, I doubt not, there will be mighty republics in Africa, whose foundations were laid by the benevolence of the friends of Colonization; whose benign influence upon the millions of that now heathen and benighted land, shall cause them to bless the efforts of this Society. The friends of this Society will see that their labors have not been in vain, and will have abundant cause to rejoice that they have been instrumental in doing so much good to their fellow men. Not only will happy colonies be founded by our efforts, but we shall accomplish much more; we shall enlighten the natives also. From whom will they learn the arts of civilized life, so readily, as from men of their own color—their brethren—their friends—whom they have welcomed to their shores?

The light of civilization will continue to increase in Africa, and I believe we shall see the darkness and mystery of the dealings of Providence towards her now unhappy race, opened up as clear as the noonday sun; and that slavery, with all its present evils, has been used as a means to carry forward great designs of wisdom and mercy.

I would say to every sincere friend of this cause, you can do much to carry on this great work—to bring glory to our country—to ensure happiness to millions of the human race—to place Africa in her proper rank among the nations—and to take from our own land a degraded population, which never can be happy here.

Dr. REESE offered the following resolution; which, after an address by the mover in its support, was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the attempt, so frequently repeated by the enemies of this Society, to fasten upon it the reproach of exciting the popular passions and disturbing the public peace, must originate either in gross and criminal ignorance of the facts in the case, or in a malicious prejudice, which the Society has neither provoked nor merited.

He observed that this resolution directed the attention of the assembly to a fact which, if every day's experience did not prove its existence, would be thought incredible: the fact, that the Colonization Society had enemies; enemies numerous, persevering, and desperate. These persons, said Dr. R., not content with representing the scheme of African Colonization as Utopian, impotent and worthless—not satisfied with denouncing all its plans and aims, have assailed the integrity of those who have long and faithfully labored in the cause, and have imputed to them the very evils which these their opponents have themselves occasioned. The time has been, and that not long ago, when they represented this Society as insignificant and feeble, and all its plans as mere delusion. They affected to treat the whole affair with contempt and ridicule, as a mere tub thrown to the whale. But now that the great experiment of African Colonization has fully succeeded—now that they behold colonies yearly multiplying on the African shore, and by the thrift and good order of their inhabitants, and an unlooked for progress in agriculture, in commerce, in morals, letters and religion, all beginning to attract the attention of the world—now, when they find their predictions of our failure put to confusion, all their opposition to our designs unavailing, and all their misrepresentations overthrown by the force of truth—now, we hear no more of the impotence and the delusiveness of the Society's schemes. Oh no; the tune is changed: and now we are told that the Society, thus early in its history, has become potent for evil; and what may it not accomplish if permitted thus to augment its resources and its strength? Why this change? Has the Constitution of this Society changed? Have its aims and purposes and policy changed? No; they are unchanged and unchangeable. Why, then, is the tone of contempt and scorn chan-

ged for that of bitter reviling? Why are the former sneers of our adversaries turned into a long and loud and deep complaint against our growing power? The reason is sufficiently manifest; and it is one that should cheer the hearts, raise the hopes and strengthen the hands of the friends of the Colonization cause. The reason is to be found in the complete success which has crowned our experiment. Yes, we have fully, gloriously succeeded. Already is Liberia enrolled among the nations; and were this Society extinct to-morrow, the permanence of that rising though infant republic would not admit of a reasonable doubt.

Another reason of this change of tone in the opposition is to be found in the fact that the intrinsic benevolence of our enterprise has so commended it to the confidence of the wise and the good, that the great body of American philanthropists have given it their decided countenance, and are now among its foremost supporters; that the patronage of the Society is more and more extending itself, and that there is a well founded prospect that the usefulness and efficacy of the Society will continue to increase from year to year. Dr. R. here went into a course of very severe remarks on the violent and persecuting spirit which had been manifested by the Abolitionists toward the Society, which he attributed mainly to the fact that much of those means which they had hoped to turn to the furtherance of their own schemes of agitation throughout the country, had been diverted to the promotion of the more sober and practical design of Colonization. Hence the crusade which had been proclaimed against the Society; hence the subsidizing of the vast power of the press; hence the employment of every charm of oratory and song—of the sacredness of the pulpit, and the charms of the lyre, for the avowed purpose of its destruction. The war against the Society was a war of extermination; and so confident had its enemies once been of success, that they had even proclaimed its death and published its funeral! But the Society, praised be heaven, was yet alive and likely to live: it not only survived, but survived with raised and rising hopes, and means constantly augmenting.

Dr. R. adverted with indignant warmth to the attempt of these opponents of the Society to lay at its door the blame of every invasion of the liberty of speech, and every tumultuous and riotous proceeding which had been excited by the rashness and violence which had marked the proceedings of their own advocates and agents. Not only had the Society been accused of acting where it was, but where it was not; for many of these disgraceful scenes had taken place where the Society had neither members nor friends. He argued to show that this bitter prejudice against our Society was unprovoked and unmerited. When, or where, had the Colonization Society provoked it by heaping foul abuse on any? When had it intruded inflammatory papers and pamphlets upon any? When had it claimed the right to trespass on the rights of others? When had it disturbed and interrupted the national legislation by memorials of silly women and yet more silly men, loading the tables of Congress, after the fruitlessness of all such attempts had become apparent and the results had proved to be evil, only evil, and that continually? When the Colonization Society should hurl defiance in the face of the Chief Magistrate, and declare before heaven and mankind that though the land should rock from the mountains to the sea, and all its streams run blood, not an inch would it give ground, not an agent would it recall; when it should attempt to browbeat the community, and with mock solemnity canonize men who had fallen the victims of their own folly; and the ministers of the altar had perished in mobs with carnal weapons in their hands; then, indeed, it might with more justice be accused of creating riots and inciting men to deeds of violence and blood. Thus far it had neither provoked nor merited such a charge. Thus far the Colonization scheme

had been eminently conservative: it had, indeed, no elements of destructiveness belonging to it. On the contrary, its existence, its perpetuity and success were like to prove one effectual barrier against the inroads of such a spirit. It was not only conservative in its tendency, but eminently pacific in its character and course. When its agents visited any town and found that the attempt to prosecute the ends of their agency, would be the occasion of exciting tumult and disturbance, so far from glorying in it as meritorious, their course was to forbear making any attempt, however moral the measure might be, and however within the line of their vested rights, which would even hazard the possibility of such a result. Unless they could advance the Colonization cause by peaceful means, they were not to attempt it at all. Yet the charge of instigating mobs had been reiterated, least, for want of a public disclaimer some men were in danger of believing it to be true. This cry was like the cry of "thief" or "fire," raised by felons and incendiaries, only for the purpose of turning public attention from the real offender.

But was every man who opposed Abolition doctrines and practice, to be set down, of course, as a friend of the Colonization Society? Would to God it were so; the Society would then number a thousand to one against its enemies. But those enemies need not lay the flatteringunction to their souls, that they had no opponents but this Society and its friends. They did the Society honor over much. As had been aptly said by the President of the Society in his introductory address: We had no quarrel with any; in this warfare we acted only on the defensive; this Society had priority, in point of time, to all others which professed to benefit the colored population. It was pursuing the even tenor of its way when certain deserters from its ranks raised a clamor, not so much against slavery as against the Colonization Society. Yes; to this day, more than a moiety of the printing paid for by the Abolitionists, had been put forth not for the good of the colored man, but against the American Colonization Society; and it had proved about as successful in the one case as the other.

We, said Dr. R., profess ourselves neither pro-slavery men, nor anti-slavery men. We intend only to transport to the shores of Africa such free persons of color as are willing to go. This is our simple, our single, our only undertaking. We desire, indeed, and confidently hope, to be the means of kindling up on that wide and benighted continent, the beacon lights of science and Christianity; but our immediate design is Colonization, and Colonization only. We appeal not to the corrupt passions of men, but to reason, to conscience, to religion; and our appeal will be heard. If I believed that the Society was justly chargeable with instigating mobs and stirring up riots, I would abandon it to-morrow. If it could be shown that we promoted disaffection between different portions of this happy Union, it would be the duty of every lover of his country to quit our ranks. No. Our motto is that of a President of these United States in his Message to Congress—"the Union **MUST** be preserved;" or, that other, breathed from the fervent lips of a true patriot—"the Constitution, now and forever!—Our country, our whole country, and nothing but our country!"

The Rev. Mr. SLICER offered the following resolution, and addressed the Society in support of it. It was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the churches of different denominations which have contributed to aid this Society, and that the clergy throughout the Union be respectfully requested annually to present the claims of the Society to the congregations under their care.

MR. PRESIDENT—I had designed to submit to the meeting some general remarks upon the moral and religious bearing of this great scheme of colonizing the fre

people of color, with their own consent, upon the Western coast of Africa; but, Sir, the lateness of the hour will forbid my presenting my views at large, and I shall content myself with offering to this meeting a few observations.

The resolution, which it is made my duty and honor to present, recognizes the connection of the Christian Ministry with this enterprise, and the interest which the Church of the 'True God' has in its success.

Sir, I hold this truth to be indisputable, that the action of Christianity upon the human heart and character, always has, and still does excite in the human bosom sympathy for the suffering, and (overcoming the natural selfishness of man) leads him to the performance of deeds of benevolence and humanity; and if the *depth of the sufferings endured* should be the *standard of the sympathy cultivated*, and of the *benevolence exerted*, then should every Christian Church and every Christian individual take a lively, a deep, and an abiding interest in the temporal and moral condition of the whole African race.

If we contemplate the deep degradation of Africa's millions, and the dense moral gloom that has for centuries enshrouded their minds, as partakers of the 'common salvation,' we shall feel a solemn responsibility resting upon us to extend to that benighted and bleeding continent, *by every possible means*, the blessings of Christianity and of civilization.

I shall not attempt, Sir, to present even *a single page* of the history of her wrongs, and of the depredations which even Christian nations have committed upon her; from the time, when the first dark Portuguese slave-ship was seen, like a vulture hovering upon her coast, down to the present hour, she has been the common plunder of every heartless invader. Annually 150,000 of these children of Ham, have been torn from the graves of their ancestors and from the home of their childhood—from kindred and country, and immured in the miserable holds of the slave-ships—and those who survive the horrors of 'the middle passage,' sold into perpetual slavery, and doomed to be wasted by oppression. What an accumulation of wrongs have her children been subjected to, during the prevalence of *this foul traffic*—and the existence of *those wars* among her own sons, which have been kept up to furnish plunder to those dealers in human flesh!

Which of the sands, Sir, of her wave-beaten shore, or of her sun-burnt desert, has not been steeped in the blood or tears of her slain or grief-stricken children? "What wind has passed over her plains without catching up the sighs of broken or bleeding hearts?" And although the tears of the black man have fallen unheeded, and his sighs have passed in the breeze unheard, by his oppressor, yet there is an eye that never sleeps, and an ear that hears 'the sighing of the prisoner'—and there is a common Father in Heaven, 'Who made of one blood all nations,' and who will avenge the wrong of all his children.

The African slave trade, Sir, is the broadest and darkest blot upon the page of this world's modern history—and this nefarious traffic *can never be abolished, but through the agency of Colonization and Christianity.*

Africa, Sir, with her 30 (perhaps 60) millions was purchased by the blood of Christ—and although *a hoodwinked philosophy* has denied that her sons are men (*and has thereby sought to strike them out of the family of Adam and of God*)—a philosophy that would connect 'morality with the contour of the countenance,' and 'estimate the capacity for knowledge and salvation, by a scale of inches, and the acuteness of angles,' yet *these, with other heathen, shall be given to the Messiah for His inheritance*, when the *uttermost parts of the earth* become *his possession*. The word has gone forth and shall not return void; *God shall rebuke strong nations from afar—He shall break the bow, and burn the chariot in the fire—they shall cast their idols*

to the moles and bats—"beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks," and Ethiopia, that now reaches out her *imploring hands* to the Christian Church, and asks for the cheering light of Christian truth, and the succours of Christian hope; and who now asks Christian nations for indemnification for the wrongs done to her, shall lift up her *confiding hands* to the white man's God and Saviour.

Sir, if the truth of revelation can be trusted, and the almightyess of God can be relied upon, Africa shall arise from the gloom, the slumber, and the degradation of ages; and putting on the garments of salvation, and bearing in her hand '*the rose of Sharon*,' she shall stand forth as in the days when she gave Bishops to the Church, and furnished Martyrs for the flames. The mighty work has begun—the Wesleyan Missionaries have kindled a fire upon the Southern coast, and have pressed the cap of salvation successfully to the parched lips of the Hottentots, and the Christians of the United States have struck a light upon the Western coast, by means of the Colonization Societies—and at no distant day, shall those kindled fires commingle and extend their radiation into the interior of that dark continent; and Africa, emancipated and disenthralled, shall stand forth a monument, alike of the wisdom of the Colonization enterprise, and of the benevolence and efficiency of *Christian Missionary labor*.

There is no time to be lost, the tide of time is bearing Africa's children by thousands to the judgment seat, with their minds unenlightened and their wrongs unredressed—the Church should awake and *go forth at once to the rescue; she must furnish the sinews of this war*—the means—the money. The gentleman from New York said, Sir, that this Society is pacific—*pacific*, Sir. Yes, it is so to the slaves of the South and their owners, and to the North and those mistaken men whose philanthropy prompts them *to spend their efforts and money, where it can be of no avail*—(and with whose plans and measures I can feel no sympathy)—and yet, Sir, *this is a war*—a war of extermination waged against ignorance, barbarism, crime, Polytheism, and last, not least, against the African slave trade. And this war cannot be sustained without the prayers and the contributions of the Church. I am happy in being connected with that Church, which has two Missionaries sleeping in premature graves upon the shores of Africa: there lie all that was mortal of Cox and Wright, and the companion of the latter. They, animated, not by a sickly *philanthropy*, but by the love of God, and by love to the millions of that continent, periled their lives and fell *martyrs* in the cause of Africa's emancipation! But they lived long enough to light the lamp of hope for her, and it now stands burning by their graves. And though dead, they yet speak—to Africa—to us—and charge us, by how much the sons of Ham have drank deep of sorrow's cup—by how much they have been common plunder to all the earth—by so much to hasten, to aid in their rescue, and to send back her christianized sons, and the Christian Missionaries—*until Africa shall be all that the arts of civilized life, the lights of science, the mercy of God, and the redeeming power of the gospel, can make her*.

General CHARLES F. MERCER, M. C., offered the following preamble and resolution, and addressed the Society, in their support:

Whereas experience has demonstrated that the colonizing of our free people of color on the western coast of Africa has been the means of founding an orderly, industrious, and happy society, possessing all the necessities and many of the comforts of life; of greatly lessening the slave trade, so long the scourge of that

and the curse of this continent, and of diffusing the blessings of civilization and Christianity through savage and benighted nations,

Resolved, That in order to promote objects so important, more effective aid should be provided than private benevolence can be expected to supply; and that to enable the American Colonization Society to purchase additional territory in Africa; to introduce and diffuse an effective system of agriculture; to improve the common schools of Liberia and establish a seminary of higher order; to furnish facilities for further and larger emigrations from the United States: the Managers of the Society be requested to make an urgent appeal to the citizens of such States as are favorably disposed towards the objects of the system of colonization, to induce them to petition their respective Legislatures to grant to the Society an annual donation, adequate to the accomplishment of its benevolent, patriotic, and pious purposes.

In support of the preceding resolution, Mr. MERCER made a very able and eloquent speech, in which he referred, very particularly, to the early proceedings of the Society, and to the aid which had been indirectly obtained from the United States Government, by the act of 1818, instructing the President of the United States to remove any Africans recaptured by officers of our Navy, when about to be introduced into the country in violation of law, and colonize them on the coast of Africa. He spoke of the effects of the scheme of Colonization in the suppression of the slave trade and of the great blessings it must confer upon the people of Africa.

General MERCER's preamble and resolution were unanimously adopted.

A late hour having arrived, the Society, on motion, adjourned to meet at half past six o'clock to-morrow evening, at the First Presbyterian Church.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1837.

The Society met, in pursuance of adjournment, at the First Presbyterian Church, at half past six o'clock, P. M.

CHARLES F. MERCER, M. C., a Vice-President, took the Chair.

Mr. GURLEY said that in the preamble and resolutions he was about to submit, he had embodied his reflections on the course of policy desirable, if not absolutely necessary, to be adopted, at this time, by the Society. He feared that the friends of this Institution had not duly appreciated the greatness of their enterprise. The plan of this Society was not limited in its beneficence to those now free; it embraced in its salutary influences our country, our entire colored population, and Africa. He thought its friends had departed, or rather descended, in many instances, from the original and high ground of the Society;—that they had lost confidence in the adequacy of the plan it proposed for the good of the colored race. The friends to this Society are doubtless more numerous than at any former period; but he feared they were its friends on principles far less broad and animating than those adopted by the fathers of the Institution. It met the approbation of the pious as a Missionary Society, but was viewed with little interest by

many as providing happiness and a home, not only for those now free, but thousands and millions that might be liberated. If this Society showed that it conferred benefits upon those already free, it in fact exhibited a plan which might be a motive for voluntary liberation, and if adopted by the States of the South, might result in the freedom, the instruction, and the happiness of millions in this country and in Africa. But to effect a work so great, the treasure and power of the Nation are demanded. To secure these, let all the friends of Colonization unite and persevere with lofty hopes and tenfold energy.

Mr. GURLEY then offered the following preamble and resolutions:

Inasmuch as this Society has, for years past, been suffering under pecuniary embarrassments, and as, from various causes, (among which the partially separate operations of some Auxiliary Societies, and the entirely independent action of the Maryland State Society, and the recently disturbed and distressed state of the pecuniary affairs of the country, must be deemed prominent,) these embarrassments are very slowly, if at all diminishing, the Society are convinced that measures must be devised and executed to augment, very materially, the resources of the Society, or that its operations must be exceedingly irregular and inefficient, if not, in a short time, altogether suspended. Donations to this Institution can be expected only from those who are informed of its principles and proceedings, and who feel an interest in its success. The first thing to be done, then, in order to secure relief from pecuniary embarrassment, must obviously be to diffuse extensively a knowledge of the views and prospects and condition of the Society, and by arguments and appeals awaken public interest in its behalf. This can be effected only by the Press, by Agents, or by both. And if the Society possesses no adequate means of increasing its publications and agencies, it must proceed upon the presumption that such publications and agencies will sustain themselves or entirely abandon the cause.

It is well known that the most distinguished friends of this Society have, from its origin, regarded its exertions as rather experimental and preliminary than as sufficient and final; and have expected that the great scheme of the Society, shown to be practicable by private charity, would be conducted forward to those vast and beneficent results which it was designed to embrace, by the united treasure and power of the States and the General Government. It is clear that neither the States nor General Government will apply their means to aid this scheme, until public opinion shall sanction such application, and that efforts are indispensable to commend the cause of African Colonization to the regards of the American People, before their opinion will ever be expressed in favor of such application. Should this Society neglect to put forth these efforts, to what other means can we look to enlighten and form public opinion on this subject?

1. *Therefore Resolved*, That this Society will encourage the establishment in this District of a weekly newspaper, to be devoted in part to the cause of African Colonization, and that it be recommended to the friends of the Society throughout the Union to extend their patronage to such paper, as well as to do all in their power to increase the circulation of the African Repository.

2. *Resolved*, That it is expedient to employ at the earliest possible period at least twenty able and discreet agents, to explain publicly the views, and enforce the claims of this Society, as also to receive donations for its objects; and that the friends of the Society, throughout the country, be invited to give information to the Board of Managers of gentlemen known to them as prepared and inclined to engage in agencies for this Society.

3. *Resolved*, That a memorial be prepared, addressed to the Congress of the United States, praying that an expedition may be fitted out, in which commissioners of this Society may be permitted to embark, to explore the Western coast of Africa, to ascertain the situations most desirable for colonies; to aid said commissioners in negotiations for such regions of the coast as may be most advantageous for purposes of Colonization; and, also, praying said body to grant such other aid to this Society as in their wisdom they may deem expedient; that said memorial be printed in the Repository, and that the friends of the Society, throughout the Union, be requested to obtain signatures to this memorial, and forward the same to the Congress of the United States.

4. *Resolved*, That, in the judgment of this Board, the best reasons exist why all the friends of the Society should press forward in their great work with vigor and hope, not permitting occasional calamities or pecuniary embarrassments to weaken their resolution or activity.

5. *Resolved*, That should other countries than Africa, without the limits of the United States, invite the Colonization of our free colored population, the subject of extending the constitutional right of the Society to plant colonies in those countries merits the consideration of the Society.

These resolutions were supported in an address by the mover, who was followed by the Hon. Mr. Dunn, of Indiana, in some remarks on the general objects of the Society, in which he expressed his approbation of the resolutions.

Mr. GARLAND, of Virginia, then addressed the Society at length, as follows:

Mr. PRESIDENT: I come from a slaveholding State, and from the midst of a slaveholding people. I was once a member of a Colonization Society auxiliary to this. I was its warm and ardent advocate, until the fanatical spirit of the Northern abolitionists manifested itself in a tone and in a strength which threatened the personal security as well as the rights of property of the Southern People. I then became jealous; I strongly suspected that this Society, looking beyond its professed objects, was secretly abetting the schemes of these fanatical crusaders, and encouraging them in their warfare upon the institutions and domestic rights of the South. With these suspicions I came here to be a spectator—a spectator, did I say?—not a spectator only, but an observer of your operations, that I might determine for myself whether or not my jealousy was justified by your proceedings, and whether my suspicions were well-founded in fact. The noble and patriotic sentiments I have heard advanced upon this occasion, both at the meeting last evening, and on this, by many gentlemen from the North, who are supporters and members of your Society, the determined spirit which they evince to defend the constitutional rights and domestic institutions of the South against lawless and fanatical violence, satisfies me that my jealousy and my suspicions were unjust, being unfounded in point of fact. I take pleasure in repairing the injury which I have done the Society. I feel entirely convinced that the only object of the Society is that which it professes—the colonization of the *free people of color* in Africa—an object in which the philanthropists of the North and South may cordially unite in promoting. And I now confess that the only feeling of regret which I experience, is that of seeing not one Southern citizen participating in the deliberations of the Society, except yourself, sir.

Before entering upon the course of remarks which I propose to submit upon the resolutions now under consideration, and to prevent any misunderstanding of my views, I beg leave to remark, that I deny to the Government of the United States the right to interfere with the question of domestic slavery in the States or in the District of Columbia, affecting its existence in any shape or form. I deny to the State Governments, also, the power to abolish the right of property in slaves; this can only be done by the People, in their primary sovereign capacity.

I have but little to say, Mr. President, in relation to the fanatical, lawless crew, styled abolitionists, who are busily engaged in preparing the public mind in the North for a crusade against the institutions of the South, in violation of the pledged faith of the Constitution, and every principle of international law—in violation of the laws of God and man. To them I have only to say that we have no fears; we bid them a stern defiance; they may rage, they may storm, but we defy them. Whenever they shall choose to abandon the protection of the State institutions and laws which now gives them impunity; whenever they shall choose to drop their warfare upon paper, aided by the misguided and deluded support of *priest-ridden* women and children, and transfer their operations among us; whenever they shall pass the line of the Susquehanna, and plant their footsteps on Southern soil, I stand pledged to God, to the country, and to the world, that they will be met with a spirit that will rebuke their foul, nefarious undertaking, and roll back upon them that tide of destruction which they had prepared for the South. There is no earthly power that can effect, by force, the views of these men; nothing short of the arm of Omnipotence itself can effect it; the attempt will be vain.

But, Mr. President, although there is no danger to the institutions of the South, to be apprehended from the physical power of the abolitionists, there is danger of another character, which every patriot, every philanthropist, and every friend of republican institutions should earnestly deprecate, and exert every faculty of his mind to avoid. I mean the stability of the Union. What patriot, what heart that is keenly alive to the preservation of free institutions, and the security of the rights of man, that does not tremble at the very idea? Shall this holy ark of liberty—shall these free institutions be overturned and destroyed—shall the freedom of thought, of speech, of religion, the protection of life, liberty, and property be jeopardized? Destroy this Union, and the work is accomplished. Upon its ruins despotism in its most hideous form will rear its horrid head, and prostrate forever this the only free Government upon earth—the only hope of the good and the great, the free and the bond, of every clime, and of unborn millions. Instead of the daily spectacle of republican institutions, in their pure and simple operations, we shall have royalty, with its attendant splendor and magnificence, rioting in its power, while the clanking chains of oppression which bind the People will be unheard and unheeded. The course of the abolitionists is well calculated to produce this effect. Week by week, day by day, and hour by hour, they are creating among your youth feelings of strong prejudice and hostility to the institutions of the South. Counter prejudices and feelings of hostility are created among the youths of the South by wanton misrepresentation and traduction, which must end, one day or other, unless extinguished, in fierce and *bloody collision*. These passions are already much excited, and are daily gaining strength; they may become so matured as to be uncontrollable and inextinguishable; they should be rebuked while now they can be controlled. I know, Mr. President, our friends of the North believe, from the fact of our hitherto forbearance, that nothing can drive

the South to such an extremity. This, sir, is a fatal delusion, and may be productive of fatal effects if indulged. I know the South has borne much, and will yet bear much; they have loved, and they still love, the Union with filial affection, because they appreciate its value, and fully understand what would be the effects of its destruction; but they love liberty more; and, in the progress of time, the oppressions of the Union may become more intolerable than even the oppressions of royalty itself. There are bounds beyond which no People will or ought to endure. I then appeal to the friends of liberty, to the friends of the Union in the North, to check and control that system of reckless fanaticism among them which has such dangerous tendencies, and which may inflict so much mischief upon the country. When I remember that liberty itself was purchased by the common toil, the common sufferings, the stern republican spirit, and the commingled blood of our Northern and Southern ancestors, and this Union founded by their united wisdom and patriotism, I frequently ask myself the question, can their sons have so far lost the spirit of their sires as to throw away so valuable an inheritance to gratify the mere speculative notions of fanatical zealots, who would stop at no sacrifice to accomplish their mad schemes? I must hereafter learn the answer from the actions of our Northern friends. Upon them depends whether we shall remain united and free, or be divided and enslaved. *They can—we cannot*—control the operations of these enemies of the Union, and rights of the South; these disturbers of our peace, and traducers of our character. This is the only subject which can, by any possible means, produce so direful an event as the destruction of the Union; and I fondly trust that there is a sufficient amount of patriotism in the North to afford a timely and salutary interposition.

Mr. President, the professed object of this Society is to colonize the free people of color on the continent of Africa; it is a great, a benevolent, a magnificent object, and worthy the patronage and support of every humane, benevolent heart in the North or in the South. This scheme demands the ardent, the energetic support of the people of the North and the South, whether we consider it as addressed to their *interest*, their *pride*, their *patriotism*, or their *benevolence*. As addressed to their interest, it proposes to remove a class of population from among us, which, from its degraded condition, and its want of proper inducements to energy, activity, and industry, is a pest to every society in the midst of which it is located. In the North they are not received into association with the whites; they are riotous, disorderly, and debased. In the South, in addition to these characteristics, they disquiet and corrupt the slaves, and incite them to disobedience and rebellion. It is then, the interest of all to get rid of this population. As addressed to their pride, it proposes to form a new empire, to plant a colony in the midst of benighted, debased, and superstitious Africa, which may, under your nurture and your care, emit that light of religion and of liberty which shall dispel the moral and religious gloom which now envelopes the African continent, break down the unhallowed and degrading temples of idolatry and superstition which enslave the African mind, and overthrow the powers of despotism which oppress and enslave her people.

What feelings of pride and gratification would swell our hearts, if in looking through the vista of time we could behold this germe which your benevolence has planted, grown into an extensive and powerful Republic, imbued with the principles of liberty, and sustaining American institutions, giving liberty, prosperity, and happiness to millions of human beings, hitherto degraded in the scale of human

existence? How would this pride swell into exultation if you could see the star-spangled banner floating over the sable battalions of Africa, in their march overthrowing the strongholds of despotism, and establishing free institutions over the whole continent of poor, ignorant, enslaved, and degraded Africa? But how would this exultation burst into inward rejoicing if you should live to see in part this great reality—this great work, the product of your care, your toil, and your benevolence, so far secured as to leave no doubt of ultimate success. Persevere, and such will be the glorious result of your untiring and benevolent exertions; and when you have done it, you may embrace in your benevolent contemplation the whole world of mankind, and cordially unite with the poet in his warm and enthusiastic invocation:

"Take, Freedom, take thy radiant round,
When dimm'd, revive; when lost, return,
Till not a shire through earth be found
On which thy glories shall not burn."

As addressed to our *patriotism*. It proposes to rid the nation of a population dangerous, not only to the quiet, peace, and tranquillity of the whole country, but presents a theatre on which the North and the South may rally in mutual confidence, and dry up one of the great sources of discord which now distracts and divides them. Let the probable success of this scheme but be demonstrated, and I do not doubt that it will supplant, in the affection and confidence of the whole nation, the abolition societies, and produce, instead of discord and division, union and emulation among the people of both sections. It is the fear of this that prompts the abolition presses to pursue with such reckless and relentless hostility the American Colonization Society. Whenever it shall be known that the Society can accommodate the emancipated as fast as emancipation shall prevail, there is no doubt that all eyes will be directed to its operations, and the abolition societies dwindle into that insignificance and contempt which their unhallowed designs richly merit.

As addressed to their *benevolence*. This association is worthy of all confidence, and the most ardent and persevering support. It proposes to remove a class of our fellow-beings from a location in which the policy and actual safety of another and more numerous class forbid their instruction in the arts and sciences, and that mental and intellectual improvement which can alone elevate them to that standard of dignity which properly attaches to man—to a land where, under the fostering care of the Society, they may enjoy life, liberty, and religion, to the fullest extent, and receive that course of instruction in the arts, sciences, and literature, which will enable them to maintain the true dignity of human existence, and secure the supremacy of that system of government and laws calculated to promote their own happiness and prosperity, and transmit them a rich inheritance to their posterity. In this work you not only promote the welfare and happiness of a few individuals, but you aid in advancing and extending the great causes of religion and liberty. How powerfully does the end to be accomplished invoke the energetic and untiring exertions of every humane and benevolent heart. To us these unfortunate people have a right to appeal; on us they have irresistible claims. They are here by our policy and our coercion; they have no means of their own. The laws of the slaveholding States, founded upon sound policy, will not permit them to remain there; the laws of the non-slaveholding States will not permit them to emi-

grate to them. What then is to be done? Are they to be sent among the merciless savages of the West, there to be destroyed by the tomahawk and scalping knife? Humanity says, no. Are they to be planted amidst the ice and snow of the arctic regions? This cannot be done. Where then are they to go? Send them to the land of their fathers, where they may enjoy peace, life, liberty, and security. Send them to the land of their fathers, that they may enjoy, in undisturbed security, the product of their industry, and the fruits of their labor. This they cannot do without means. They have them not; and to you they appeal—on you they call. Shall the call be in vain? Your future operations must respond.

The practicability of the scheme has been, to my mind, most satisfactorily demonstrated. Already you have acquired a territory sufficiently capacious for double the whole black population of the United States. Already a colony has been planted which is making rapid progress in agriculture, in art, science, government and religion. Already their safety is secured against any hostile aggression of the neighboring tribes. Already the improvements in the condition of the colonists, moral and religious, demonstrate their capacity for still farther and more extended improvements. What then is the hindrance? Nothing but the want of enlarged means, increased effort, and more daring enterprise.

Mr. President, in the providence of God—why and wherefore, it is in vain for frail, fallible, finite man to inquire—man has, in all ages of the world, been made the instrument through which great events, either moral, political, or religious, have been accomplished. So now, this great, this important, this magnificent, this benevolent scheme is to be accomplished through human agency, sir. We have the means, if we had only the benevolence and the enterprise to apply them. A nation of people abounding as this is in such extensive wealth, to talk of the inadequacy of their means to accomplish the colonization of our free people of color, is absolutely ridiculous—the means are ample. I fear the spirit of benevolence is restricted by the love of the purse within too narrow limits; and that is the material *inadequacy* of which you complain. There is expended, in the idle and giddy rounds of dissipation, every year, a sum more than sufficient to accomplish this great, this benevolent and glorious enterprise. The objects of no society ever were or ever will be accomplished by annual meetings, the adoption of a few resolutions, and a few pretty, eloquent speeches, unless these displays be accompanied with untiring energy and perseverance. Nor, sir, will your meeting here every year, hearing an inaugural address, and an annual report read, hearing a few speeches, and adopting a few resolutions, ever accomplish your designs. They will not supply the great desideratum—*the means*. You must apply your purses, your energy, and your enterprise, in action; action, energetic action, is the secret of success in all undertakings; and the want of it is the secret of your present embarrassed and languid condition.

Mr. President, the hostility to your Society is not singular; all associations, however benevolent the object, or innocent the design, have had the same hostility to encounter. Christianity itself, the best gift of God to man, has made its way through hosts of enemies, who have assailed it with every sort of weapon. Could this Society have calculated, knowing human nature as it is, to escape opposition? Surely not. Opposition should not depress or discourage you in the prosecution of your designs; it should stimulate your determination to succeed with more inflexibility. The enemies of the Society have resorted to many stratagems, not only to discourage and embarrass you, but to deter the objects of your benevolence.

from emigrating. Among other misrepresentations, they speak of the insalubrity and sickliness of the climate of the colony, and charge every death which takes place among the colonists to the climate alone. I do not doubt that the change of climate has been fatal to many of the emigrants; yet I do not doubt that the insalubrity and unhealthiness of the climate is greatly exaggerated. If it is expected that a colony is to be planted where there will be neither death nor disease, then indeed will there be sad disappointments: such a spot cannot be found on earth. Have we forgotten so soon the history of the first settlements of every colony which has ever been founded? Have we forgotten the history of the first settlement of our fathers at Plymouth and Jamestown? Have we forgotten that death shot its unerring darts thickly among them? That disease and the merciless Indian savage murdered them by hundreds in their progress from the Atlantic to the Mississippi? Sir, there is scarcely a spot that is not stained with the mingled blood of the father, the mother, and the child, fresh flowing from the heart, shed by the cruel and infuriated Indian savage. Disease and death, to this hour, follow the pioneers of our Western settlements. But what have these sacrifices produced? Direct your view to our learning, population, our wealth, our power, our commerce, our laws, and our free institutions, religious and political, and see the product! These sacrifices, even of life, are such as have been, and always must be, made by the existing for succeeding generations. They cannot, in the nature of things, be avoided. Our fathers would not have endured the toils and sacrifices of the Revolution if the light of liberty was to have been extinguished with their existence. The sacrifice of life, then, which has been made on the African shore, should not deter you from the prosecution of your great enterprise: because I do not doubt that their sacrifice will be productive of the most glorious and happy results to their posterity.

Mr. President, before I conclude these loose and desultory remarks, there is one view of this subject which presses with peculiar force upon my mind, and which I must be indulged in expressing. Sir, when we look to the past, and see what we were a few years ago, few in number, and struggling for our very existence, with the most powerful nation on earth, and compare it with what we now are, I cannot but press my views a little into the future, and contemplate what will be the state of things some fifty or a hundred years hence, according to the same ratio of progression. If now we find, with our present sparsity of population, this class of people an incumbrance almost too ponderous to be borne, what will it be with its increase when our own population shall have swelled to some hundred millions, and the productions of our soil more inadequate to sustain our existence? Would it not be the part of wisdom now to remove the incumbrance, when it can be done, than to await until their increase and our own want of means shall make the task more difficult, if not impossible? I trust that this consideration will sink deep into the reflections of the American People, and beget a spirit of energy and enterprise compatible with the magnitude of the duties which devolve upon them in relation to this interesting subject.

Mr. President, the quiet and peaceable, yet sure and steady operations of this Society will do more in the work of emancipation in one year, than all the incendiary and inflammatory efforts of abolition societies would do in a thousand. The work of emancipation must not only be voluntary on the part of owners, but it must be gradual; while the spirit of our people will resist all interference by others, there is no disposition to prevent voluntary emancipation, and through this

avenue your Society will find full employment for all its means and all its energies. These sources were fresh and full until they were dried up by the mad attempts of the fanatics; they may be opened anew, but not by violence or insolent interference—you must address men's reason, not their passions.

We do not know what events are in the womb of futurity, but I believe, as I fondly hope, that all and each of you may live to see the auspicious hour when, by your labor, your toil, and your benevolence, the colony which you have planted may rise into an empire, sustaining American institutions, and diffusing the lights of science, literature, liberty, and religion, over the continent of now ignorant, barbarous, and degraded Africa. I cordially approve the general objects of your association, and trust that they may be amply successful.

[NOTE.—It is proper to say that I do not approve of the resolution which authorizes an application to Congress for an appropriation of money to aid the funds of the Society, I do not think that Congress has the constitutional power to make such an appropriation.—J. G.]

Addresses were then made by Mr. CRESSON, from Pennsylvania, Dr. REESE, from New York, and Mr. LEVY, from Florida, on the general objects of the Society. Mr. CRESSON opposed the first resolution, and Dr. REESE supported it. The third resolution was opposed by Mr. SEATON, and the fifth by Mr. CLARKE and Mr. MAXWELL.

It was, on motion, agreed to take the question on the preamble and the several resolutions separately. The question was accordingly so put, except on the fifth resolution, which was *withdrawn* by the mover.

The preamble, the first and the second resolutions were carried.

The third resolution was lost.

The fourth resolution was carried.

Mr. CLARKE offered a resolution concerning some unsettled questions between the Parent Society and the affiliated Auxiliary Societies of New York and Pennsylvania, which, after some discussion between Mr. PHELPS, Mr. FENDALL, and Mr. BUCHANAN, was modified by the mover so as to read as follows:

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to examine into and report on certain unsettled and disputed African accounts existing between the American Colonization Society and the New York and Pennsylvania Colonization Societies, in order that a fair adjustment thereof may be made, and that the judgment of the committee, or of any two of them, be considered as binding on all the parties concerned.

Messrs. PHELPS and ALLEN, the Delegates from the New York Society, and Mr. BUCHANAN, Delegate from the Pennsylvania Society, expressed their assent to the resolution thus modified, and it was unanimously carried.

Messrs. MERCER, WHITTLESEY, and UNDERWOOD, were chosen the committee.

On motion of Mr. PHELPS, the following resolutions were adopted.

1. *Resolved*, That the indications afforded during the past year of an increasing attachment, among the citizens of Liberia, to agricultural pursuits, and especially the recent establishment of an Agricultural Association at Monrovia, are an encouraging augury of the future prosperity of the Colony.

2. *Resolved*, That the subscription by the Lieutenant Governor of Liberia, on the part of this Society, to several shares of the stock of the said Association, the ratification by the Board of Managers of that subscription, and their active policy for several years past in fostering an agricultural spirit at the Colony, are approved by this Society; and that it recommends to said Managers to extend such further aid to the Agricultural Association of Liberia as they may deem expedient.

On motion of Mr. SEATON, the Twenty-first Annual Report was re-committed to the Board of Managers, in order that it may be prepared for the press and printed.

The Society then went into an election of Officers and Managers, and re-elected the present incumbents.

The Society then adjourned, to meet on some day to be fixed by the Managers hereafter and announced.

A P P E N D I X.

The following communication discloses a project which, if carried into effect, must prove of incalculable benefit to the cause of Colonization. Its author is Judge Wilkeson, of St. Augustine, Florida, a gentleman of great wealth, intelligence and energy; and we trust he will find many gentlemen of influence and means ready to co-operate in this noble undertaking.

ST. AUGUSTINE, *March 7, 1838.*

My Dear Sir: I can make you no apology which will be satisfactory to myself for neglecting so long to acknowledge your favor of December 29th. On my arrival here, I found it necessary, for the comfort of my family, to go to housekeeping; (the effects of the war are no where more sensibly felt than in our public boarding-houses.) I had therefore to purchase a house, repair and fit it for occupancy, and, in the mean time, two cargoes of lumber and necessaries to unlade and secure, and also to keep my men at work on my plantation; so, my dear sir, all this, with the correspondence connected with my own personal business in the State of New York, has so occupied me, that I have not had time until now to reply to your kind letter. Hereafter I hope that no apology will be requisite.

Sir, the project, of which I communicated to you the outlines in Washington, is briefly set forth in a letter to Lewis Sheridan, a colored man of North Carolina, who has embarked for Africa with his family. I expected to find him at Washington, but he had gone into the country. I waited a day, and was sorry to leave without seeing him. On my arrival at Charleston, though pressed for time, I addressed to him the letter referred to, a copy of which I subjoin.

“CHARLESTON, *December 7, 1837.*

“*Mr. Lewis Sheridan:* Sir, although a stranger, I have taken the liberty of communicating to you a project, by which I propose to place the colored man in a favorable position to prove his ability to engage in trade and commerce and other important business, where talent, integrity and industry are requisite to success.

“The high character which you have acquired in North Carolina, for moral worth and mercantile ability, might be regarded as evidence that the colored man stands on ground equally elevated as the white man, making allowance only for the difference of education, and political condition. Still, sir, I would suggest that this is a favorable time for the philanthropist and real friend of the African race to unite in multiplying evidences that the negro is capable of taking his place in the honorable and elevated callings of life. I here submit to you my project, and solicit your opinion of its practicability and influence on the colored man. I propose to raise money by contribution, which shall be applied to the purchase of

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vessels suited to trade and transporting passengers to the coast of Africa; which vessels shall be sold to colored men, capable of managing them, and who will reside in, and hail from, Africa, and pay for the vessels within a given number of years, by carrying emigrants to the American Colonies on the coast. I anticipate no difficulty in raising the necessary funds, particularly at this time, when the benevolent public is so much alive to every thing relating to the African race. Nor can I doubt that many vessels could be officered and manned by colored people, well qualified to navigate them safely and economically. When the practicability of this project is once proved, in what a new and favorable light will the negro appear; and from his capacity to endure the rays of a vertical sun, in the climate of Africa, he could safely prosecute the trade and commerce of that quarter of the globe, which are now, and always have been, attended with such fearful risk of life to the white man. Navigation, once commenced by the negro, and a regular trade established between this country and Africa, can we doubt that the colored people of this country, who possess enterprise and property, would engage in that trade, and turn their attention to Africa as their future home, where they will enjoy, not nominal, but real freedom? If regular packets, navigated by colored men, were established between this country and our Colonies on the coast of Africa, would not the natural tendency be to do away the existing prejudices against emigration? The colored ship owner would have an interest to induce his enterprising colored friend to settle in Africa, as a planter or trader, and thereby contribute to the articles of commerce. As colonization is now conducted, the influence of the emigrant can be brought to bear but very partially upon his friends in this country, however much he may desire it. Again, the increased facilities of visiting the western coast of Africa which would be furnished by this means, would induce many of our colored people to visit the country, and thus develope the advantages of a settlement there, and dissipate prevailing prejudices. May it not be expected that in a very short time companies of enterprising free negroes would be found for emigration to Africa, the same as is now practised by our eastern citizens in removing in colonies to the far west, or by Europeans in emigrating by companies to this country? The coast to leeward of Liberia, being more healthy than the points now occupied by the American colonies, would furnish inducements for new settlements which might be extended for more than a thousand miles, embracing some of the most healthy and productive parts of the African coast. You have, no doubt, reflected much on the subjects embraced in this letter; will you favor me with your views in relation to them, and particularly in relation to encouraging the free Negro to engage in navigation? Would you become interested yourself and present the subject favorably to your enterprising friends in Africa?

Yours, &c."

The above letter, which was sent by private conveyance, (the mail not going direct) either was not delivered, or Mr. Sheridan had not time before sailing to answer it.

The first idea of this project was suggested to me by observing that few colored men in any section of our country are prosecuting any extensive business, but are generally engaged in subordinate capacities, and in performing the most menial services. Feeling a great desire for the elevation of the colored man, I embraced every opportunity afford-

ed by several visits to the southern and southwestern States of making myself acquainted with the condition of both slaves and free people of color, and their susceptibility of elevation in this country. I found among the slaves as skilful mechanics as our country affords. The Dover Iron works, among the most extensive in America, are carried on by slaves, from digging the oar, and cutting the wood for coal, to refining the iron, and rolling it into bars and plates, and the extensive and complicated machinery kept in the most perfect order. The mechanic labor on the plantations in the southern States, is usually performed by slaves. They are in fact the blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, weavers, and shoe-makers of the country, and their work is performed with skill and expedition. I am satisfied that the colored man is as capable of acquiring trades as the white man, and that the reason he is so seldom found in the middle and eastern States carrying on mechanic business, is not for want of ability to acquire the knowledge and skill, but on account of the difficulties and discouragements incident to his condition, and which are alike applicable to all colored men who seek to elevate themselves in this country. The merchant will not employ them as clerks: the mechanic will not employ them as journeymen: should he perchance find such employment, he applies for board and is refused—other workmen will not eat with him; thus he meets at the very outset in life with difficulties which he cannot surmount. He may have education, and mechanic skill; of what avail are they so long as neither can be profitably employed? He has no one to take him by the hand and help him onward—his heart sinks with discouragement—he must either steal, beg, or accept of menial employment,—and instead of being surprised that so great a majority are thus employed, it is a wonder that more are not vagabonds. It may be said that all these difficulties proceed from the wicked prejudices of a wicked world; be it so, their effects on the colored man are none the less calamitous, and ages may roll away before these prejudices are corrected, and generations of colored men may pass away to the grave while their professed friends are setting the world right. My project offers present relief, opens a field to him in which talents, education, and skill can be successfully employed, yes, and extensively too; for can it be doubted, that if one successful voyage is made by colored men, ships would be procured as fast as competent officers and sailors would accept of them on the conditions proposed, and thousands of colored men would hasten to qualify themselves to act as officers? Good colored seamen are now numerous. The terms on which I propose to place the vessels in the hands of the colored man are liberal. Require no cash payments, take the whole amount of the ves-

sel in transporting passengers to be furnished by the American Colonization Society, and other societies now existing, or to be formed, for colonizing on the coast of Africa. One, two, three, or more years should be allowed, if required to pay for the vessel. Or, it might be proposed, that if the free colored men of this country, either by themselves or in connection with their friends in Africa, should form a society or company for colonizing in Africa, and acquire a title to one hundred square miles of land, and settle on it one hundred emigrants from the United States, then and at such time any balance due on any vessel or vessels so sold shall be assigned and transferred to such society or company.

This project seems to me, after much reflection, so well calculated to accomplish what so many thousands honestly desire, although great diversity of opinion prevails in relation to the means to be employed, that I have great hopes of seeing the experiment made the ensuing fall. I cannot doubt that money can be raised to purchase a ship. I shall make the effort, and if necessary, I will be one of ten persons to furnish the amount required, and devote my time to the object. I therefore hope that gentlemen residing in various sections of this country, who may favor this plan, will interest themselves in recommending it to such colored men as they find competent and willing to engage in the enterprise. I will give my views further on this subject by next mail.

Sir, in concluding to engage in this matter I have done it with fear and apprehension, but I have great confidence that something good will grow out of the effort; more capable men will engage in it; I count on your aid. Will you please place this communication before the public as soon as possible.

Sir, I am yours,

Most respectfully,

SAML. WILKESON.